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[p.76]

311 of the forest resources and the breeding of a
241 few sheep and cattle, provide the sustenance of the great majority of Cherán's population.

The town of Cherán has a population of
632 about 5,000. The community is unique among
162 Tarascan towns, not only for its large size—
361 almost 2,000 more than that of any other settlement—but because the *municipio* of the same name contains only two, unimportant rancherías. Most *municipios* in the Tarascan area consist of one moderately large settlement, the *cabecera*, and a surrounding group of small settlements known as *tenencias*, and still smaller communities known as rancherías or by other classificatory terms. Usually the total populations of these *municipios* approximate the population of Cherán or even exceed it. Consequently, the unique feature of the *municipio* of Cherán is the concentration of almost the entire population in the *cabecera*.

Despite the concentration of population in the
632 *cabecera*, the *municipio* of Cherán comprises
311 a large area. Much of this area is mountain
578 and forest, but there are many relatively large tracts of arable land (maps 2, 3). This circumstance, in part at least, has been the cause of numerous boundary disputes and some loss of territory. The most notable recent loss of territory has been the secession of the one *tenencia* of Cherán, the rather large settlement of Cheranástico to the northwest, which seceded in 1939 and joined the *municipio* of Paracho. The immediate cause of this secession again appears to have been a boundary dispute between the *tenencia* and the *cabecera*.

Cherán differs from the ordinary Tarascan
361 agricultural village only in size. Throughout the area the type of settlement is the compact village. Probably in most cases the villages represent settlements of Spanish type, with a central plaza about which are the church (sometimes not actually on the plaza), the municipal building, and, more recently, the school. From the central plaza radiates a rectangular grid of streets, modified only where necessitated by the irregular terrain (maps 4, 5). In the case of a large settlement such as Cherán, there usually exists some fragmentary legend of origin of the settlement through amalgamation of aboriginal groups dispersed

[text continues on p. 12a]

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425 The grandfather died while the Rangels were
428 living in the United States, and a brother moved the house onto his land. The Rangels returned some 27 years later and claimed the house, producing papers to show that it had been purchased. This was the first the brother had known of the transaction, and he was not only angry but refused to surrender the house until forced to do so by the *municipio*. This did not smooth family relations.

428 Other instances illustrate and bear out the
578 assertion that most of the conflicts in Cherán
675 are over inheritance. For example, a woman on her death bed divided her property as follows: A lot and certain lands to each son, three lands divided among her three daughters (one married, two small), and a house (*"troje"*) to be sold to pay the marriage expenses of the unmarried daughters. A few years later a brother tried to sell the house, and the girls appealed to the witnesses. The witness spoke to an uncle, who forced the brother to give up the idea.

428 Even in those few cases in Cherán in which
593 sons remain in the family group and which
768 function as joint families, the group dissolves immediately on the death of the father. Informants were unanimous and positive on this point, despite the fact that before the father's death the elder brother usually will have been handling the communal treasury and acting as head of the family.

428 All inheritances are supposed to be registered
217 at the *municipio*. This is certainly done where
425 an outsider is called in to make the division. Then each heir is required to sign (or someone signs for the heir before witnesses) a statement that he accepts the division. Evidently most property transactions of any sort are so registered. It should be noted that registration of a property transaction in the *municipio* is quite apart from registering lands with the tax collector and there is no connection between the two offices. Land not registered for taxes may be sold and the sale recorded by the *municipio*.

181 Even though many details of the economic
556 system of Cherán are still not known in detail, some observations seem possible. The Cherán economic system has important relations within a general Tarascan economic system and also

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632 forest fire damaged a considerable area and the forestry engineers called the representative down severely for not having been more efficient in fighting the fire. This attitude was hardly justified in view of the strong Tarascan tradition of burning the pastures in the winter. Illegal exploitation of the forests is also blamed on the representative. Two major cases occurred during the period field work was under way, one involving illegal cutting of railroad ties, the other, illegal sale of lumber. Responsibility for failure to prevent both infractions was laid to the laxness of the *representante*. In connection with one of these cases, a town *junta* was called to discuss what should be done, but no decision was reached and the matter was finally dropped.

632 578 It was evidently felt that the *representante* would be involved in boundary disputes if they affected public lands. The two disputes existing in 1940, however, apparently affected only lands in private ownership. The dispute with Arantepacua was in process of settlement with a compromise being made between the two claims. As there was only a question of which town would get credit for the taxes paid, the dispute was not bitter. The quarrel with the former *tenencia* of Cheranástico, however, was much more prolonged and bitter. Apparently Cheranástico claimed some of the best agricultural lands of the lower plain as community property. It was, however, owned in individual holdings by owners who all had registered titles. Consequently, Cheranástico has accomplished nothing, but every time there was a new governor or other governmental change, the people of Cheranástico made another attempt.

BARRIO FUNCTIONS AND COMMUNAL IMPROVEMENTS

632 621 In addition to the function of the *barrio* or *cuartel* as an administrative device as described above, certain public improvements are made through the *barrio* mechanism. In this the *barrios* do not act independently but merely as instrumentalities of the *municipio*. No informant had ever heard of a *barrio* doing anything on its own initiative.

632 621 312 The major duty performed by the *barrio* is the maintenance of the water system. Each *barrio* has a section of the aqueduct within the

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665 tion. It was, indeed, difficult to imagine him as the leader of a bloody riot.

159 As a final footnote on the affair of the "agrarians," one of the first acts of the new government installed in January, 1941, was to send letters to all the members of the agrarian group, inviting them to return to Cherán and guaranteeing their safety if they refrained from political activities. This was done with the approval, if not at the actual instigation, of Valenzuela.

474 An entirely different type of organization is the cooperative. Essentially an economic organization, it deserves treatment here because it potentially might yet have important political repercussions. Although not openly opposed [578] by anyone in hearing of the staff of the study, comments made by several men while drunk implied great bitterness on the part of some of the people in the town. The cooperative, still 474 in process of formation in 1941, was organized under the leadership of one Valentin Velás- 159 quez. Velásquez was not dressed in typical Cherán fashion, and he had spent several years in the United States. He speaks typically [195] Cherán Spanish, however, somewhat in the manner of the famous screen comedian, Cantinflas—he never finishes a sentence and only after several sentences is it apparent what his ideas really are. He is an orphan who has bettered himself economically at the cost of terrific effort, according to his own story, and his interest in the cooperative, he claims, is merely that of a good citizen who feels it his duty to aid others to better their lot. By his own admission there is a good deal of opposition to the cooperative, and he has been threatened with death several times. He lays this opposition to ignorance.

474 The organization of the cooperative would give it a monopoly on all exploitation of forest 313 lands except for cutting of firewood for personal use. The cooperative would charge a membership fee of 10 pesos, and members would be required to market all their products through the cooperative. Only the cooperative would be licensed by the Forestry Department and all work would have to be done in areas designated by the Forestry officials, using care not to destroy young trees. Members would receive better prices for their products through

474 the bulk marketing and better bargaining power
313 of the cooperative. In 1941 it was claimed that a considerable number of the individuals working in the woods had signed up, as well as some men in the town who wished to indicate their support of the idea although not themselves forest workers.

474 Two things were said to be holding up the completion of the organization of the cooperative. The first was the necessity of raising enough capital to pay advances to the members when they deposited their products with the cooperative for marketing. The second was the refusal of the *representante* to sign the necessary papers. According to Velásquez, this refusal was not because the *representante* disapproved of the idea, but because he felt many people in town were opposed and he did not wish to sign the papers counter to their wishes. As the signature of the *representante* was not absolutely essential, the organization probably was completed without his approval.

It may be noted that the cooperative had nearly come to grief in its early days through an action by the *presidente militar* imposed after the 1937 *zafarrancho*. The military governor had ordered posts cut for the installation of the electric lighting system without securing a permit from the Department of Forestry. The Forestry officials had blamed
[687] this on the cooperative, levied a thousand peso fine, and threatened to revoke the permit of the organization. This had been cleared up, and it was rumored that the former military governor was going to have to pay the fine—which may very much be doubted.

575 A number of other organizations of a religious nature exist and will be dealt with later.
794 Potentially most influential in political matters
518 are the church societies such as those of the Sacred Heart, the Third Order of Saint Francis,
668 and others. In Cherán in 1940, it was difficult to learn much about these. The meetings were private, and secrecy had been impressed on the members. There is very little doubt that a new priest who took over the parish late in 1940 was utilizing these organizations to undermine the existing liberal political order in Cherán. Trouble was brewing in Cherán on the religious and political front and there is little doubt that it was being con-

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sciously fostered by some elements in the Church, probably the same groups fostering the Sinarquista movement in the adjoining region of the Bajío north of Tarascan territory.[32] Additional data on the change in attitude of the church in Cherán will be presented under religion.

CONFLICT AND LAW

The people of Cherán are very reticent about conflicts within the town. Efforts are made to convince the outsider that the town is a harmonious unit, and it is very difficult to secure data to the contrary. The impression, after many months in Cherán, is that a great deal of hostility underlies the apparent harmony. In part, this is apparent in the prevalence of witchcraft and some of the evidence is presented under that heading. Interfamily and intrafamily jealousies and conflicts, however carefully concealed, cropped up time and again in casual remarks. Nevertheless, little definite information could be secured. Any efforts to pick up the small leads occurring in conversation were usually adroitly countered. Consequently, the material presented in this section consists primarily of the more overt conflicts which, under certain circumstances, lead to official interference.

A great variety of minor conflicts constantly reach the office of the mayor. Many of these never pass the stage of discussion and informal settlement. For example, a man had been drunk all week, insulting people indiscriminately. One man finally struck the drunkard. The case was discussed at length. Some argued that the drunkard should be arrested. Others claimed that both should be arrested. Ultimately, nothing was done, but as anyone present in the *municipio* could enter the discussion, word probably got around to both parties. The drunkard's relatives probably restrained him and the man giving the blows kept out of sight.

Another case illustrates the handling of minor offenses. A woman was brought before the acting mayor (the mayor's alternate), charged with stealing a blanket from a man while he was drunk. The woman was accused vigorously by the acting mayor but denied the

[32] Evidence for this statement cannot be given at this time.

793 branches, and large numbers came to visit him. Despite these efforts, a new priest arrived some 2 weeks after the departure of the old priest.

The household and assistants of the priest vary somewhat. The mother of the old priest served as his housekeeper, and there were several servants. The old priest relied primarily on the *cabildo* or ačes for his aides in church. The new priest brought a household whose exact composition I did not learn. In addition, he brought a sacristan and one or two other assistants, who took over several of the functions of the *cabildo*. In general, the new
793 priest adopted a much more aggressive atti-
578 tude. Not only did he immediately get into a bitter quarrel with the *cabildo* (to be described later), but he interfered with customs on every hand, wore his priestly dress in public and permitted people to kneel in public and kiss his hand, and mixed in political matters. Considerable numbers of Cherán residents resented his attitude bitterly, including many of the devout members of the community.

The support of the priest is based on volun-
793 tary contributions, but in Cherán the priest is aggressive. Formerly, the *cabildo* kept the priest informed as to the amounts of harvest, and the priest, often personally, at other times through one of his assistants, directly asked for "alms." The amount suggested is the traditional tenth; in some cases people give him this amount, but many give less. The payments are mostly in kind, usually wheat or corn, which is brought to the priest's residence and placed by him in a storehouse in charge of the kéri. It was reported that the priest normally sells corn and wheat to needy local residents at about 1 peso a bushel below the market price. The facts in the case at the time of inquiry were somewhat obscured by the quarrel with the *cabildo*.

The functions of the priest in Cherán are numerous. Not only does he say the obligatory Masses, but he also celebrates special Masses in connection with every fiesta and *mayordomía*. All weddings are also celebrated with special Masses. He also arranges for such special events as visits of the Bishop for confirmation.

The Bishop paid one visit to Cherán during the time of the study. The priest appointed four *comisionados* in each *barrio* to gather con-

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793 tributions. For some time before this visit, rockets were fired off at noon and at 3 p. m. and the church bells were rung about 3:45 p. m. [783] This was to call people to confess in anticipation of the Bishop's visit.

575 794 Another activity, about which little is known, is in connection with the various societies. As indicated previously, there seems to be a degree of secrecy about the functions of these groups; undoubtedly they are primarily religious. For example, on January 3, the day of the Sacred Heart, members of the Society of the Sacred Heart spent the day in church. They wore red bands about their necks with ornaments of red ribbons and spent much of their time kneeling and in group prayers led by a maestro or lay reader. There is also reason to believe that the new priest, at least, used these groups for political purposes. Scarcely a day passed without one group or the other being summoned to a meeting at church by means of special signals on the church bells.

The majority of the people in town belong to one society or another. Rarely or never do they belong to two. The societies of Saint Joseph and of Mary are for boys and girls, respectively; when they marry they are dropped from membership. Adults belong to the other societies. Membership is by invitation only. Each society has a board of directors (*mesa directiva*) which issues the invitations. All meetings are held in the church or in the priest's quarters.

794 578 798 There can be little doubt that Cherán is a strongly Catholic community. During the height of the conflict between the Church and the Government, when priests were forbidden to officiate and the churches were closed,[34] Cherán residents underwent considerable risk to bring a priest to the town periodically. Many of the services were held in a private house belonging to a certain Cherán resident who was later in bitter conflict with the new priest who arrived in 1940. The minority in the town 794 578 who were opposed to Church domination in political affairs did not dare to speak openly. Quotation of a statement given me by one of

[34] It will be recalled that this restriction was imposed when the Church refused to permit priests to obey the new laws requiring them to register. The real point of the conflict, of course, was in those aspects of the laws which prohibited Church schools and stripped the Church of all economic rights.

794 these men illustrates the situation clearly, particularly as it came to a head in 1940. That
578 the informant had no violent anti-Church sentiments is indicated by the fact that he previously deprecated the rumors that a school was to be established, pointing out that it would merely be a sort of religious seminary primarily for the girls, who were not being sent to school in Cherán anyway. His statement was as follows:

793 The priest (referring to the new priest in 1940) is
578 entering into political matters and speaks from the pulpit about them. In the meetings which he calls, he speaks much more directly. In one which I attended,
794 he said he was sent to put himself in front of the people to guide them on the road they should follow. No one, he said, could molest him nor interfere with him. Even though there were some misguided persons in the town who spoke against him, he would not permit them to prevent his arriving at his ends, and if it proved necessary, he himself knew how to manage pistol and rifle and knew how to fight in the forefront of his people for their rights.

This speech was received with great enthusiasm and applause and I had to remain silent. That is one of the unfortunate things here that no one can say anything against the priest or practically the whole town turns against him. As the people have always the idea that the priest is a sacred person and that a town without a priest is not a town with a complete life, the priest has only to say that a certain person is against him and the whole town will attack the person.

I believe that this priest is very disruptive (*muy divisionista*) for the town. He wears his clerical garb in the town very proudly, receiving homage in the streets, a thing that the priests have not done before. The priest who left here was somewhat that way when he arrived, but when, as a friend, I indicated to him that he had spoken of political matters from the pulpit, he said it was a slip which he would not repeat. With the old priest one could speak reasonably about anything and discuss the affairs of the town and the attitude he should take, but with this one it is impossible to say anything. He will not permit the slightest criticism.

578 Some of the minority faction in the town who are inclined to be anticlerical are un-
177 doubtedly affected by their experiences in the United States. A former mayor was very out-
793 spoken in his objections to the behavior of the local priests. Many of the priests, he said, are guilty of much opposition to the Government and especially to the schools. He asserted that the priests seem not to wish people to read and write and are responsible for many fathers not sending their children to school. For this reason there is much unnecessary ignorance in

578 the town. Continuing his remarks, the former
177 mayor also said that the priests seem not to
793 want people to understand the prayers and rituals. He then went on to point out how different conditions are in the United States, where he had spent some years, and entered into a discussion of the reasons for the differences.

RELIGIOUS FIESTAS

527 The most important rituals and recreational events at Cherán are the fiestas. They are not, however, intimately connected today with the Church. It might be fair to say that the saints' days are the excuses for holding the major fiestas. All the large fiestas are accompanied by special Masses, but the extent of church connection is perhaps less than that involved in the *mayordomías*. Essentially, the fiestas are secular events with religious overtones. All the major fiestas are conducted by the municipal authorities, rather than by the church. They are important commercial events in the town, especially the fiesta of the patron saint. They also provide a great deal of entertainment. In general, they offer occasions for making the major purchases of the year, showing hospitality, overdrinking, and for the excitement of large crowds and release from routine. Only a few people find the religious aspects of importance, even though they may attend the Mass.

In some towns the fiestas are in disrepute and have been abolished. In Cherán there is no opposition to the fiestas on religious grounds, but primarily on grounds of drunkenness. As one solid farmer remarked—

[185] **The bad part of the fiestas is that people get so very drunk; you have seen how the women become more disorderly than any (I had not observed this as a general thing, by any means). The worst is where the fiesta is too large, as in Cheranástico, where three bands are employed although the town is small. People there have to pay 13 to 15 pesos per family. Also bad is when *cargueros* have to pay the entire cost of the fiestas. Here the fiesta costs only 1 or 2 pesos per person (family).**

Such views are unusual in Cherán and, except for efforts to introduce such novelties as basketball games, the progressive administration takes pride in perpetuating the conduct of the fiestas on a grand scale.

796 They decided who should receive the *mayordomía* each year.

794 The method of selecting the *mayordomos* was subject to dispute by various informants. The members of the *cabildo* insisted that the *mayordomías* were transferred in the order of application, although sometimes, if a person were too poor to care for the saint properly and live up to the obligations of the *mayordomía*, they would not permit him to have it. Lists of applicants were shown to verify this statement. Many people, however, claimed that it was necessary to give lavish presents to the *cabildo* over a period of 2 or 3 years before a *mayordomía* would be granted. One *mayordomo*, the *carguero* of the Santo Niño in 1940, claimed he had given many gifts of clothing, corn, wheat, *tortillas*, tamales, etc., to the *cabildo* at the previous Christmas ceremonies and in all had spent about $250 on them before he was granted the *mayordomía*. This man, however, was active in a campaign against the *cabildo* at the time. The *cabildo* members admitted receiving gifts, but claimed they were voluntary and in no way influenced the assignment of the *mayordomías*. It was customary, and the *cabildo* expected to be invited to the *mayordomía* and to be treated as guests of honor, receiving special large breads, atole, and gifts of food; the contradictions about gifts, [578] however, seemed impossible to resolve, arising as they did out of a passionate controversy under way at the time.

The *cabildo* selects one of its number to act as head. In 1940 the head was Maximiliano Ortíz, a noted conservative. Ortíz was supposed to visit the church every day. Despite the quarrel, to be described, about the *cabildo*, Ortíz was elected alternate to one of the *regidores* or members of the *ayuntamiento* "so he would no longer be able to criticize." The *cabildo* also invites people to serve as *colector* and *prioste* and thus ultimately become members of the *cabildo* themselves. Others say these offices are sought. Such invitations could be refused. People were not invited to become *mayordomos* as there was usually a waiting list.

The office of *prioste* is occupied first. After one year, the person advances to the office of *colector*. The following year he becomes one of the *cabildo*. These two officials have the

796 ké$_{\eta}$i, who serves them *posole*. Afterward they
794 return home. On this occasion, also, the *colector*
is supposed to sponsor a dance called *los viejitos*
[535] in which five boys and five girls take part (some say six of each sex). The girls are said to be the future *uanánčes*.

Although the new *prioste* takes office on December 8, the duties of the *prioste* do not end until the *mayordomía* of the Holy Child, the Santo Niño. On this occasion he is obligated to accompany the *uanánčes* while they dance.[36]

The *uanánčes* mentioned above are a group of young girls selected by the *prioste*. (This is contradicted in a sense by the fact that some parents make a vow for their girls to serve as *uanánčes*, for example, if the girl is sick when small.) They act as servants of the *prioste*, going every day to the church (usually accompanied by their mothers). At church they sweep, bring flowers for the altars, and help keep things in order. At Christmas time they perform a sort of *pastorela* dance, aided by other girls. One of the girls is known as the šu$_{\eta}$ánda and is regarded as the first or leader. She is in charge of the incense, the "one who carries copal." The other girls have no special names.

578 Frequent references have been made to the
794 quarrel between the *cabildo* and the new priest.
793 The motivations and the exact events probably were not discovered. In any case, the roots of the quarrel go far back in time. Ostensibly, however, the fight started with the departure of the old priest.

So far as could be ascertained, the first overt act in the struggle was the calling of a *junta* on the matter. While the *junta* was called by the mayor, in this he was merely conforming to the custom of calling such a meeting whenever it was requested. The request was made by one David Guerrero, a somewhat surly and unapproachable person (so far as the staff of the study were concerned) who ran a small store and saloon (mostly the latter) not far from the plaza. Guerrero's motivations seem obscure. He was not particularly active in the church. Neither did he seem to belong to any

[36] It should be noted that the above account is based on data from informants. Owing to the quarrel between the priest and the *cabildo* none of the ceremonies were performed in 1940. The data are from musicians who always attended and from members of the *cabildo*.

578 793 794 other group, although he was one of the few active supporters of Almazán in the previous presidential election. In the opinion of the best informants there had existed no movement against the *cabildo* until Guerrero undertook his campaign, although obviously the roots of the charges and bad feeling were already present.

At the *junta* between 75 and 100 persons were present. Guerrero spoke, charging the *cabildo* with demanding gifts from the *cargueros*, stealing from the church, driving out the previous priest, and being very drunken. The last charge was what many believed to have convinced the new priest so that he turned against the *cabildo*. An arrangement was reached in which the assignment of *mayordomías* would be taken from the *cabildo* and persons wishing to "take a saint" would ask it of the priest.

At the first *junta* everyone agreed with the charges. A second *junta* was called. In the meantime the *prioste*, one Magdaleno Guerrero (no relation to David) went to the Bishop in Zamora and secured a letter (which I saw) categorically stating that neither he nor anyone else had attempted to have the former priest removed. This letter was presented at the second *junta* by the *representante del pueblo*, who defended the *cabildo*. (The *cabildo* did not attend. Magdaleno Guerrero said for a while they were afraid they might be killed.) This made the people less bitter, but they still agreed to abolish the *cabildo*.

With regard to the other charges, the *prioste* asserted that all the work of the *cabildo* was voluntary, while his own expenses as *prioste* amounted to between $100 and $200 for the year. Among his duties was to pay for Masses on December 8 and December 25. Following the latter Mass, the *cabildo* met at the house of the *prioste* who served food. To this assembly came people who wished to ask for a saint. They brought presents of cigarettes, while the wives brought bread. These presents, the *prioste* asserted, were voluntary and were not demanded. The names of the persons were put down on lists in the order applications were received and each *mayordomía* was awarded to the person whose name headed the list.

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578 794 793 With regard to the charge of drunkeness, the *prioste* asserted that this had been true "in the time of our grandfathers" but it was not true today. What gave color to the charge, he said, was that people brought them many bottles of *charanda*. These the *cabildo* sold in the stores and returned the empty bottles to the donors.

It was quite evident that the *prioste* was filled with bitterness over the situation. The dance of the *pastorela*, he felt, was especially the dance of the *cabildo* and the *prioste* and one which gave much pleasure to the people, and now they would lose it. (Even our most anti-Church informants agreed that the dance was the best given in Cherán, partly because it was unaccompanied by the drunkenness and rowdiness associated with other dances.) The *prioste* also said that the *cabildo* was accepting the will of the people and was neither speaking nor making propaganda with anyone. After all, he pointed out, the *cabildo* gained, and especially the *prioste* and *colector* gained because they now did not have to spend their money. However, he had gone to the church and taken out the large candles and some small ones left by his wife. This, he said, was custom, for the old *prioste* always took the remains of the candles and the new *prioste* provided others. The priest had asked why he removed the candles and the *prioste* had explained the situation. The priest then asked if he was not disposed to leave the candles, but he refused. After this the *prioste* scarcely left the house, and never went either to the plaza or the church, partly because of fear, partly because in church he would have to see those who had thrown him out of office and this "caused him anger which it is better not to have before the Lord."

The *prioste* suggested that the leader of the opposition was an ambitious man who was furthering some devious and as yet undisclosed project to further his own interests. He also said the *cabildo* had made no move to seek a new *prioste* or kéŋi, which they ordinarily did by August. He also said he had no idea whether the priest would appoint new officials to take the place of the *cabildo* or go on naming people to perform their duties from day to day as he was doing. Incidentally, he pointed out

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578 that never before had the church been closed
793 when the priest left town.
794 In addition to the above accounts, which seem reasonably correct as far as they go, there were floods of rumors and stories. At one time I was told authoritatively by several people that my landlord had been named the new chief of the *cabildo*. When I asked him about it, he was completely surprised and it finally appeared that no new *cabildo* was to be named.

With regard to the story told by the *prioste* of taking his candles from the church, a much more lurid version was circulated. One woman's account of the quarrel was as follows:

> When the new priest came he asked one of the *cabildo* to bring him maize from the storehouse. The *cabildo* had taken all the maize from the storehouse but the man pretended not to know this. He went to the storehouse and returned, saying, "Father, there is no maize." "What has happened to it? There is supposed to be maize." The priest gave the man money to buy maize for that day. Next day the priest made inquiries. People told him the *cabildo* had stolen the maize. He called the *cabildo* together and accused them. They denied the theft. The priest said, "Do you want me to bring witnesses?" They conferred and said, "No. We took the maize." The father began to scold them, and they said, "What right have you to scold us? We collected the maize and we have a right to live." The priest became angry and told them they could no longer serve in the church. They went away. For 2 or 3 days they did nothing. Then they came in a body and began stripping the church of all the altar cloths, vases, and decorations. The priest interrupted them. They said, "These things are ours; we bought them. If we cannot serve here, we will take these away." They argued. The priest said, "These things belong to the community." But he realized it was not becoming for him to argue in this way and kept still. When they finished, he said, "Now have you everything belonging to you?" They thought and said, "Everything but the saints." At this the priest flew into a rage and said, "The saints belong to the community. Now take the other things and leave the church and do not let me ever see your faces again."

This is a very interesting tale, but it contains very little truth. The major fact which seems correct as compared with the *prioste's* tale is that the *cabildo* did actually remove all the vases, altar cloths, and other things they had bought.

One man, regarded as a fairly reliable source of information, stated that the *cabildo* had received the alms given at church but had

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578 formerly given them all to the priest. In recent
794 years, he stated, the *cabildo* members began
793 taking half for themselves. When the new priest came, people decided they no longer wished the *cabildo* and spoke to the priest. He abolished the *cabildo* and barred the members from the church so that alms would now be given directly to the priest.

Still another man, one who probably gave the best-informed statement, which gained weight because he was both an anti-Church and anti-*cabildo* man on general principles, pointed out some of the history of the affair. According to this informant, when the priests were forbidden to function in the church, the *cabildo* was responsible for bringing priests to town secretly and helping them to hold services in private houses. This involved very considerable expenses. (There seems little reason to doubt these statements, which were verified in other connections.) In the meantime, inasmuch as people believed it necessary to take seeds, i.e., maize and wheat, to the church, they continued their gifts, which were received and stored by the *cabildo*. This informant believed, however, that the quantities were probably less than usual inasmuch as there was no one to urge them. Out of this fact probably rose the real basis of the quarrel. When it began to appear that there was small likelihood of a resident priest returning, the *cabildo* began selling the accumulated grain, utilizing the profits to defray the considerable expenses of smuggling priests into the town. For the people it was difficult to tell whether the expenses claimed were correct or not. When a priest finally was reestablished in Cherán, the *cabildo* presented him with an account of their transactions. Many believed that this account was incorrect and that the *cabildo* had been guilty of defalcation. It was then that the idea began that the *cabildo* should be done away with. However, it is unlikely the *cabildo* received any profits after the return of the priests. The priest made an investigation of the affair and as a result the *cabildo* tried to force him to leave the town. (This last accusation seems adequately disposed of by the letter from the Bishop mentioned above.) When the new priest arrived in 1940, he announced his inten-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p. 136b]

578 793 794 tion of reopening the investigation and stated that, as the *cabildo* would probably try to get rid of him, too, he had better get rid of the *cabildo* right away.

An aspect of the situation which had not been resolved at the termination of the study was the effect of the change upon the *mayordomías* formerly in the charge of the *cabildo*. It was the belief of many, including the priest, that applicants for a *mayordomía* would simply apply to him. The priest was quoted as saying that he had no intention of interfering with the local customs. None of the *cargueros* consulted seemed ever to have thought of the possibility of the change effecting the operation of the system. The *cabildo* nevertheless has a proprietary interest in the saints and there were some indications that the *cabildo* was willing to suppress some of the customs. The *uanánčes* did not perform the *pastorela* in 1940. The *prioste* refused to put up anything for the dance, or even participate when a cousin offered to pay all the expenses. The parents of all but one of the *uanánčes* also apparently welcomed the excuse for avoiding the expenses involved. The *cabildo* also attempted to forbid the *carguero* of the Holy Child to sponsor the performance of the *negrito* dance (described below) although this was a traditional duty of the *carguero*. As he was one of those who attacked the *cabildo* and claimed to have been forced to make heavy contributions in order to get the *mayordomía*, he sought the permission of the priest and held the dance despite the *cabildo's* objections.

The progressive element in the town was of the opinion that the demotion of the *cabildo* would mean the early disappearance of the *mayordomías*. However, this overlooked the several *mayordomías* which functioned outside the *cabildo* system, and it is doubtful if the disappearance of the *mayordomías* will be particularly accelerated by this change. There is some possibility of this, of course, and one of the curious features of the situation is that a priest who apparently is conservative and who does not wish to interfere with the local customs should have been responsible for this attack upon them and for alienating the most conservative Church group from his support.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

844 organization. It is believed all the midwives in Cherán were interviewed by the staff. Most of them are elderly women past childbearing age. Some 4 or 5 years before the study, all of the midwives apparently had received instruction from a doctor called in by the priest. This is reflected to some extent in the methods used, particularly in some efforts at asepsis and the use of antiseptics. The following biographical data were secured from the midwives, the individuals being referred to by number.

No. 1. About 55 years of age; 4 years' experience. Formerly was a curer. No one in her family had been a midwife; she entered the profession "by accident" and "knew how" by the grace of the Holy Virgin.

No. 2. Age unknown, but has had 20 years' experience. Her mother was a midwife and urged her to become one also. She became a midwife because her small business was not enough to keep her alive. She had been married and had one daughter in 6 years of marriage, apparently taking up midwifery after loss of her husband.

No. 3. About 55 years of age, 4 years' experience. Learned by observing a grandmother who was a midwife. Other "grandparents" also tried to teach her. She believes, in addition, she possesses a special "virtue" for such work. Before becoming a midwife she was a curer, devoting herself especially to women who suffered abdominal pains from overwork, using massage. She still does curing, but since her husband died, 5 years before, has been a midwife. She likes the work. She says the Virgin of Monserrato is the patroness of the midwives.

No. 4. New to the profession. Has attended only two births; one of the patients accused her at the court of causing swelling of the organs because of inexperience and refused to pay her fee.

No. 5. Has been midwife 5 years. No further data.

No. 6. Has been a midwife 30 years. Was assistant to another midwife for a long time. One day a child was being born dead; the sub-
[845] ject took cotton and put a medicine she knew on the head of the mother and the child was born successfully. There was a quarrel, but finally
[578] the midwife, who was very old, began to teach

844 her; "but God gave me the power to know
[578] medicines to aid births." Is from Nahautzen. Is scornful of the local midwives, and is sometimes called into consultation in cases of difficult births.

For other midwives, no personal data were secured.

Midwives receive a fee for each prenatal visit, as has been mentioned. For their aid at births, they receive from $1.50 to $2.50. One midwife charges $2 for a first birth, subsequent charges being $1.50. Sometimes the parents cannot pay even the $1.50, according to the
[578] midwives, or do not pay for some time. Quarrels may result from failure to pay.

844 According to some midwives, if there is time,
782 the midwife goes to church before the delivery, saying prayers to the Virgin of Guadalupe, Our Lady of Monserrato, and Santo Roberto, asking help. Others say this is not done because there is never time. Another carries with her a picture of Santa Rita de Imposible and says a
844 prayer to her just before the delivery. Mid-
[751] wives do not bathe in advance, but some are careful to wash their hands in tepid water and rub them with *rafino*, considered an antiseptic, before the delivery. The midwife should not smoke or drink alcohol before the delivery. Midwives usually have as helper the mother or mother-in-law of the patient.

One midwife thought the mother should stay in bed for 1 to 3 days before the delivery, but others did not think so. Before going to bed,
[782] a prayer to the Virgin is said by some mothers, promising to bring the child up correctly. Midwives also differed on the delivery position. One said the position is always flat in bed, the others said a kneeling position is common. One midwife said both positions are used "according to circumstances." The mother decides the position, not the midwife. If the birth is in kneeling position, the patient may hold on to the metate in the position assumed in grinding maize. Alternatively, two loops of rope may be suspended from a house beam by which the mother supports herself. Sometimes the husband is seated on a low chair and supports the patient's shoulders, applying pressure to the sides of the abdomen with his knees. Normally, however, men are not present.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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556 585 garments. Alternatively, some of the clothing may be sold if it is not apt to be needed for gifts. Informants estimated that each garment was exchanged two or three times; probably the estimate is conservative.

The third aspect of the wedding display involves the number of persons who attend. [602] Every relative must attend a wedding if he does not wish to create hard feeling. Should [578] a relative fail to appear, his own functions such as weddings, house movings, house roofings, or *mayordomías* would be boycotted by the persons he had affronted. At the wedding of the daughter of such a person as Rosalio Sánchez, [572] representative of the town, very large numbers of nonrelatives attended in order to show their liking or admiration for the father. Friendship is likewise clearly demonstrated by attending the wedding of a nonrelative.

626 585 Resentment and avoidance seem to be the only methods of retaliation for neglect at Cherán. In many other towns there are probably more direct methods. In Charapan, at least, relatives who do not attend a wedding are sought out by their fellows and forcibly brought to the wedding where they have to parade through the kitchen bearing a water bucket.

585 Essential to every wedding, even the simplest, is the marriage manager. In a larger wedding the arrangements are too complex to be known properly to most people and the successful carrying out of the wedding depends on his ability. A fee is paid the marriage manager for his services; the amount apparently was not ascertained, for it does not appear in the notes, but it probably is fairly generous, for the most active of the few marriage managers, Gregorio Castillo, is a fairly prosperous individual.

585 584 As a neutral third party, the marriage manager also smooths over differences of opinion more successfully than the principals could ordinarily do face to face. This is especially marked when the bride's father is annoyed with the theft of his daughter. For example, at one "pardon," the father had left for the mountains and only an uncle of the girl was in the house. He claimed to be sick and refused to come out of the house for some time. When he did, he gave evidence of anger. Then Don Gregorio

593 Ideally, the objectives of the family are achieved by joint and harmonious cooperation between husband and wife. As in other cultures, there exist households in which there are [578] continual quarreling and dislike between husband and wife, sometimes culminating in divorce. More common seem to be harmonious households in which at least mutual understanding and toleration are achieved; probably in the majority of cases there are also affection and trust. In harmonious households, all activities and plans are discussed by husband and wife. Even though a piece of land is owned by the man, he will consult with his wife before selling it and she will do the same with reference to her property. Important purchases are usually made only after consultation, also. In most cases where trust exists between husband and wife, it is the wife who holds the purse. That is, most actual cash is given to the wife. On her devolves the responsibility for spending the money wisely in small affairs and in accumulating the savings necessary for buying new lands or houses.

In general, the man is definitely the head of the family, but the manner of wielding authority and the degree of authority vary with the personalities of the married couple. If the man owns considerable property and the woman comes from a poor family, the man may enforce his authority by reminding her that she has nothing. There are also cases where the woman owns practically everything and uses the fact to dominate her husband. Ideally, and probably actually in a great many cases, the couple treat their property as being owned in common. In any case, both parents seem to wield about equal authority over the children. Women may give orders to their sons until they marry, just as much as may the men. Girls, on the other hand, are more directly dominated by their mothers, and the father expresses his opinions concerning their upbringing to the mother.

512 Within the household certain routines and habits are common. Labor is rather strictly 593 divided along sexual lines also. For example, [462] the family usually rises about 5 o'clock in the morning, breakfasts about 8, lunches or dines at 1, and sups at 7:30 or 8, but the hours tend to vary from family to family. The family usually

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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[p.215a]
La Cañada

252 extensively in all La Cañada towns and is much
262 liked.

One of the favorite meat dishes in Chilchota is not unlike the čurípo of the Tarascans and is called "*espinazo.*" It is a broth made from the backbone of the pig, flavored with chile and including cooked bitter prickly pears known as jococoxtles. The broth is usually accompanied by boiled rice.

237 Not much sausage is made in Chilchota, but
252 the blood of the pig is greatly liked, both in
262 Chilchota and the Tarascan towns of La
[text continues on top of p.215b]

APPENDIX 2

THE CEREMONIAL
ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

121 The following information on the ceremonial organization of Chilchota was collected by Pedro Carrasco. Due to political struggles,
[578] the ceremonial organization was not in existence from 1932 to 1940. The data given are representative of conditions as they existed before 1932, amplified by data on the partial revival of the ceremonial life of the town in 1940 (the differences are indicated by past and present tenses). The organization and the observances present many interesting parallels and differences from Cherán, particularly in view of the fact that Chilchota is a Mestizo town today. Carrasco found only one man of about 90 who had been reared in a Tarascan-speaking family; nevertheless, culturally Chilchota evidently is still somewhat of a Tarascan town. Many Tarascan words survive and such old institutions as the hospital are better preserved than in many Tarascan towns.

796 The ceremonial organization is linked with
621 division of the town into *barrios* of San Juan and San Pedro. Two other *barrios* exist, Uren and Chapala, but they appear to be recent additions and, unless otherwise specified, only the first two *barrios* are referred to. The principal
796 ceremonial offices and their relation to the
624 *barrios* are as follows:

Office	Barrio
Mayordomo of the Hospital	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro

[text continues on middle of p.215b]

175 423 [648] [656] for thirty or fifty years at very low rents, so the Indians were actually left without land. This is reported to have happened in about fifty towns.[27]

The above information does not specify which towns lost their lands. The only concrete case cited is that involving the *jefe político* of Uruapan, a district which included several Indian villages. Unfortunately, no more information is available.

At the beginning of the Revolution, then, haciendas were found in the more level and warm areas north of the Sierra and Lake Pátzcuaro, on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, and also south of the present Tarascan region on the slopes toward the hot country. No hacienda has been studied nor is this the environment wherein the changes discussed in this paper take place. The present Tarascan-speaking area has not been dominated by haciendas, but is one of those where the towns of Indian peasants and artisans have survived longer, no matter what changes in land tenure occurred within the village.

[178] [133] [132] The main reason for the preservation of Indian communities seems to be that this area was less desirable for the hacienda type of exploitation. The mountainous character, forests, and cold climate did not make it suitable for the introduction of cattle or cash crops in large estates.[28]

The necessary background for our problem refers to the developments within the Indian villages in relation to the haciendas and to the individualization of land tenure as it took place from the late nineteenth century to the present time.

[621] [578] The changes within the surviving Indian towns can be described from two points of view: (a) disrupting factors making for conflict within the village and breaking the solidarity of the villagers against outsiders; (b) the basic conservatism of the villages, *i. e.*, the survival of fundamental economic conditions which tend to preserve the existence and internal solidarity of the villages.

The main disrupting factor is that of property differences within the village. As pointed out by Tannenbaum[29] for Mexico at large, the villages do not have sufficient land for the needs of all their inhabitants, and considerable differences as to property in land exist within the community, some people owning an adequate amount (according to local standards of living), some

27. Castillo, 1915, 144-5; also cited in Phipps, 1923, 119-120.
28. West, 1942, 17.
29. Tannenbaum, 1929, 86-89.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 176] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

tzen[42] and Jarácuaro. This was particularly the case in towns near haciendas to which they had lost their lands, as, for instance, in the villages on the southern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro. Work in those haciendas was essential to the livelihood of the villages.[43]

These differences in wealth within the villages were responsible for the splitting of the villages into opposite parties in relation to the conflicts unleashed by the Revolution, which will be described below. No matter how violent this conflict became at times, it should always be kept in mind that these disrupting factors were never more than a tendency. The concentration of property was not large enough to lead to the formation of haciendas, and the village as a functioning economic unit was not destroyed. There are other factors, relating to land tenure and agricultural methods, to which can be ascribed the basic conservatism of the villages which still keeps the community together.

Practically every village has some communal lands left. Permanent agricultural lands are still communal in only five of the ten Cañada villages. There, title to the land is held by the town, but within the town private property prevails, and land can be inherited and sold among villagers.[44] Some other towns have, besides the individually owned lands, communal croplands which are worked in common, usually by the landless farmers, their produce going in part to the workers, in part to the town.[45] Forest land is communal everywhere, and all villagers have the right to gather wood or to farm temporary clearings. Only recently (in the 1930's), have the Federal Forest Laws required the payment of a tax and securing of a permit for those activities.[46]

Although cultivated lands are privately owned the agricultural technique demands the cooperation of the whole community. Beals thus describes this system in Cherán:

"The so-called 'plains' consist of several large areas, subdivided in numerous privately owned plots. Maize and wheat are the principal crops grown. The 'plains' are cultivated in alternate years under supervision of the town government. Harvest dates are fixed by the town council; after the final date, the 'plains' become community pasture. Fencing of individual plots is not permitted, nor is planting in consecutive

42. Beals, 1946, 61.
43. León, 1934, 155.
44. West, 1948, 22-33.
45. Loc. cit.
46. West, 1948, 23; Beals, 1946, 21, 59, 60; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 279; Foster, 1948, 170-1.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P. 199] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

178 and in some towns hat making has sur-
463 rendered to factory competition.[60]

Paracho, on the other hand, shows the
322 opposite picture. Here the manufacture of
178 wooden objects (bowls, vases, candlesticks,
chocolate beaters, chessmen, toys, etc.) has
[534] greatly increased in importance. The town
[439] also manufactures guitars for Mexico City
and Guadalajara buyers.[61] Santa Fe pot-
[323] tery has recently been selling to Mexico
City and even United States curio shops.[62]

The declining crafts are among those
178 producing basic necessities, while the
463 growing ones are luxury crafts depending
in part on the tourist market.

Both the disappearance and growth of handicrafts disrupt the economic independence of the village, for they produce an increased dependence on the national market either in selling the developed manufactures or buying what formerly was produced locally. As in the land situation, however, the older order is preserved to a significant extent. Handicrafts for the local market are still the main economic activity of many villages: pottery, shawls, belts, agave fiber bags and sacks, hats, mats, baskets, metates, furniture still provide the livelihood of many Tarascans.[63]

No matter how important handicrafts
423 may be for the economy of a given village,
578 land tenure is the factor which has produced the conflicts during the revolutionary period. This holds true even for vil-
[438] lages predominantly devoted to handicrafts, like Tzintzuntzan (pottery) and Jarácuaro (hat making).

The conflicts which arose within the villages during the Revolution will presently be discussed.

The Mexican Revolution and the Tarascans

175 After the peaceful Porfirio Díaz period
668 (1877-1911), characterized by the economic development of the country, a period of
423 unrest began in 1910. Under the term 'Mexican Revolution' are usually understood both the armed conflict from approximately 1910 to 1920 and the various governments and their policies from the beginning of the struggle down to the present time. The Mexican Revolution is thus a very complex social transformation which includes all aspects of Mexican life. I shall discuss only those aspects of the agrarian revolution and reforms which concern Tarascan developments. The lit-

60. *Ibid.*, 66.
61. *Ibid.*, 67, 68.
62. *Ibid.*, 65.
63. *Ibid.*, 58-71.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.216] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

423 661 A similar case was going on in Ihuatzio. Here an agrarista group was formed and was trying to obtain the new shore lands, which, according to traditional use, should be distributed among all the villagers.

The opposition of the Church to the Revolution and the fact that the financing of the cult had been one of the factors that [198] led many peasants to lose their lands brought about a strong anticlerical policy among the agraristas, who expelled the priest and forbade the cult, particularly the festivals. This connection of the agrarian movement with religion will be further discussed in the next chapter.

423 668 578 175 Thus, in a small farmer-owner environment a new privileged minority was formed, which seized the lands of political enemies or of the community, assumed control of the town administration, and attacked long cherished cultural values related to religion and the church. The agraristas kept power by armed force, being organized into a local militia. Except in towns where a great majority benefited from the changes, strong opposition was always evident. During the late 'twenties there were in the area some groups of *cristeros*.[78] Cristeros were anti-agrarian peasants in revolt against the government because of its anti-church policy. The main regions of the cristero movements were those where small farmers prevailed and consequently agrarismo was weak.[79]

The political conflict became so intensified that by 1939 the government had to send small detachments of federal troops to many towns.[80] The presence of these forces undermined the control of the agrarista militia. Shortly afterwards the agraristas were driven out of some towns, new authorities were established, and the cult was again allowed to function.

At the time of our field work (1945) this movement against the agraristas had become strongly influenced by the *sinarquistas*.

668 *Sinarquismo* is a political movement strongly Catholic and nationalistic, opposed to the government and with such traits as a semi-military organization, rallies, and a peculiar salute and flag. It won its initial strength in the late 'thirties in the Bajio region near the Tarascans and gained considerable mass support among the artisans and peasants. To the peasants it plays upon the failure of the government to improve their lot. While accusing the government

78. Foster, 1948, 175.
79. For instance, Arandas: Taylor, 1933, 30-32, 36-39.
80. Beals, 1946, 112; Mendieta y Núñez, 1940, 289, 292.

largely in terms of the normal and special political functions of kinship, ceremonial kinship, and friendship. But the cacical association is more than the concatenation of these social structures; it is a distinct political entity with its own patterns of action and its unique goal of power over the community.

Let us now turn to these distinctive workings of the cacicazgo. Political sovereignty is exercised primarily by the cacique and his inner core of relatives and friends--eight men in all. They are more or less supported by some twenty lesser leaders. Political matters are informally discussed at length by the leaders and some of the citizens at large. Important policy decisions are made at special meetings, sometimes secretly convened, after a partial decision has been previously reached. Important legal cases are likewise resolved before the court opens by the inner core leaders, especially by the oldest nephew of the cacique. Political decisions at the special meetings are generally by majority vote, but often a majority of the inner eight is enough, and in extreme cases the cacique imposes his will alone. The matters dealt with in special meetings and conversations between the inner leaders are primarily the following: all land distribution questions, public works (especially irrigation problems), the making up of the ballots for formal office, and reprisals against enemies and the quashing of nascent interest groups. Effective government is informal, and a description solely in terms of formal political institutions would miss the main point of Durazno politics.

The informal structure of one cacical group in Durazno has always been paralleled by that of a contending or fallen party with its would-be cacique, secret meetings, and the same patterns of organization. At some times, as during 1927, the two parties have been equal in strength. At other times, as in 1956, the fallen party has contained only an aging leader with a pathetic kinship nucleus and some twenty followers. Durazno, like villages all over Michoacan, has a normal pattern of two or more contending factions, each related independently and informally to other villages and higher structures.

The ethnic factor is often important here. During the agrarian period (1921-26), Durazno and the two other agrarian Indian villages of the valley fought together against the mestizo hirelings and Spanish landlords. A major turning point in Durazno political and cultural history came when opposing Indian factions within the village began using mestizo neighbors against their own "blood." The village agrarian caciques have themselves always been culturally marginal, participants in both Tarascan and mestizo culture. They feel a high ambivalence in both directions: partial rejection of their Indian followers, resentment toward mestizos, and different kinds of identification with both groups.

The village leaders, as political "middlemen" (Wolf, 1956), relate the political demands and supplies of their constituents to the partially complementary demands and supplies of the higher echelons, of the Cardenas machine in the case of Michoacan. In the case of two strong contending factions, both are separately related to two contesting state-wide structures, as during the "serratista" period from 1932 to 1934. The indigenous, factional structure of the village, with its qualities of an ongoing clan vendetta, is sensitively and immediately connected to national "theoretical" questions such as the "decollectivization of the ejidal patrimony" (1925). The national problems translate downward into specific blood-and-soil-issues.[3] The political relation between national structures and nerve-center villages like Durazno is constant and often direct; the Indian cacique goes straight to Mexico City to confer with the national party chairman.

The formal government in Durazno is divided between the civil and ejidal arms. The three civil officers enjoy slightly more prestige and pervasive power in the community organization and the arbitration of legal cases, while the four ejidal posts are the more

7: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1951 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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beaters, *rebozos* or shawls, ponchos, small loaves of bread, and so forth, and giving these away to the bystanders.[1] This custom was not observed in 1948, although we were told that it had been carried on only the year before. Various reasons were given for these lapses. Some said that the people were tired of the old ways and did not want to bother. One possible explanation may rest on the fact that the priest had a large building program under way and the pueblo's new church was about half finished. It may be that the priest did not wish to divert money from his building program by allowing his parishoners to spend it on lavish holiday expenditures. It would seem likely that there would be less money for the church building program if the fiesta were elaborate, but the opposite argument is also plausible. As evidence of this we were told, a month before the fiesta, that the celebration would, "be like in the old times because they (i.e. the church officials) want to raise a lot of money for the church, and they are sure that if they don't have a good 'Corpus' like in the old days then they won't be able to make much money." This person indicated that it was unlikely that anyone would be very generous if he did not have a good time. Nonetheless, the other view evidently prevailed—at least in outward behavior.

As the time for the fiesta approached, many members of the community "played down" the holiday, perhaps to make the event, when it actually took place, seem that much better. It was also repeatedly said that the political upheaval which occurred a few weeks prior to the holiday—the duly elected mayor was ousted from office by the defeated candidate—had divided the town. The result of this was that several of the trade groups chose not to cooperate in "making" the holiday. Despite both the prior maximizing and minimizing of the approaching fiesta, there was plenty of noise and good fun during the holiday.

It was the mayor's band, a group of from fifteen to eighteen brass and woodwind players who were brought to Paracho especially for the occasion as the mayor's contribution to the fiesta, that provided the music for the Huanancha dances. These musicians came by bus from the pueblo of Ichan, one of the so-called "eleven pueblos" on the Morelia-Guadalajara highway, a distance of some eighteen miles from Paracho. It may be possible to infer from the prior anxiety about the success of the holiday, and from the fact that the dancers were asked to participate only three days before the holiday, that the mayor himself feared he would lose status if the fiesta were not at least in some ways as in the old days. This may be the reason that the presentation of the dance was continued, as one means of keeping the good will of the townspeople. This is purely in the realm of conjecture, however.

The dance of the Huanancha maidens is one of the two special dances performed traditionally in Paracho. It is performed on Corpus Christi, on the day

[1] René Barragán y Luis Arturo González Bonilla, "Vida Actual de los Tarascos," in Lucio Mendieta y Nuñez (ed.), *Los Tarascos: Monográfia histórica, etnográfica, y económica* (Mexico, 1940), p. 146. In 1940 the miniature objects were made and then were sold on the following day. "It is said that formerly they did not sell, but that they took them to the church and later threw them away." (Translated from the Spanish).